2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV5

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[20] or on customs in connection with death.[21]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[22] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On the latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[20] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.
[23] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance, in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be represented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *débo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citala a principal annual event is the ritual washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38] The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz fadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Nuñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Ikalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.467-A] Teklum

[swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'lamal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*sbe?en ta to mukl*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiltik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *doble*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

[592] The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken by one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul-184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take 396 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the [778] prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer-[782] ings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the,

[P 201-8]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness, let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 782 [825] *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague notions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals. 241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 [184] Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau, near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Ikalajau, which means principal Negro or [789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 [231] [437] Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when

[P. 202-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 comales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 797 795 795 778 [346] [361] [776] [796] [794] The beliefs and religious practices introduced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th century have been adapted to the aboriginal culture. The largest and most important building of the village is the church, situated on the east side of the ceremonial center. In it are the image of the patron saint of the group, the holy cross, and lesser saints. The most profound ceremonies take place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 796 795 [782] During the ceremonies the altar is decorated with flowers and with paper and ribbons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agreeable fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 782 Common prayers of people who visit the center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern, but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven
are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's
immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a
representation of God wherever a prayer is
said and so appears on the family altar, on
mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at en-
trances to the town, at the four corners of
the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living
mountain" and give it great reverence, for
Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol vener-
ated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different
saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as
Ladinos and to whom the Indians are com-
pletely indifferent, even to forgetting the
names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in
honor of the patron saint and the other
saints kept in the church. The capitán prin-
cipal and some of his immediate assistants
are in charge of the organization and ex-
penses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance
of the saint and range from one day and
100 pesos to four days and several thou-
sand pesos, like the one for the patron saint.
To become a capitán principal a man must
go through all the ranks and be able to af-
ford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small
one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is
similar to that for any other saint but larger.
There are Masses, and other religious ob-
servances in the church, processions with
the image of the saint along the main
streets, large meals at the house of the
cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas' E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

This substitute is called *gelol*, the same image but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

During the procession the saint is carried in a litter. Incense is burned before him, while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

There are other ceremonies held in the parajes which, although based on Christian ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 776 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P. 222-B]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, [796] the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 778 Also important are the prayers said by families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 776 [177] *Talking Saints*

Another religious form where Indian tradition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

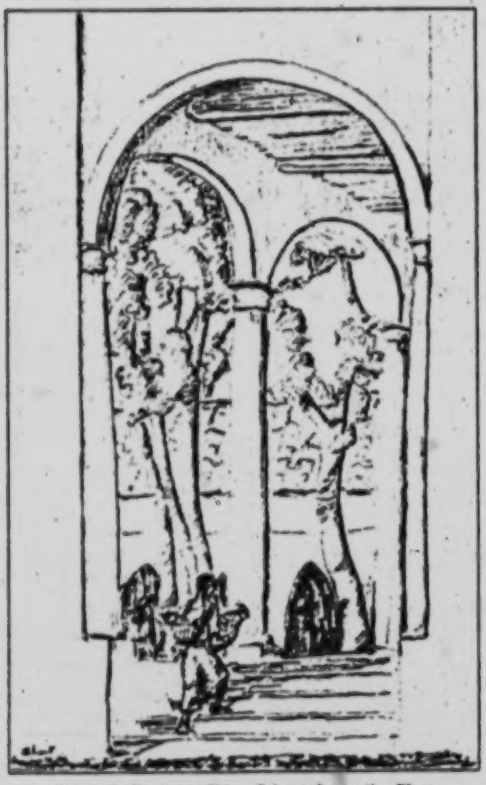

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor

FIG. 276—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales*, and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup*, "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol*, head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik*, "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in*, "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 777 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda. 1888. Page 77.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

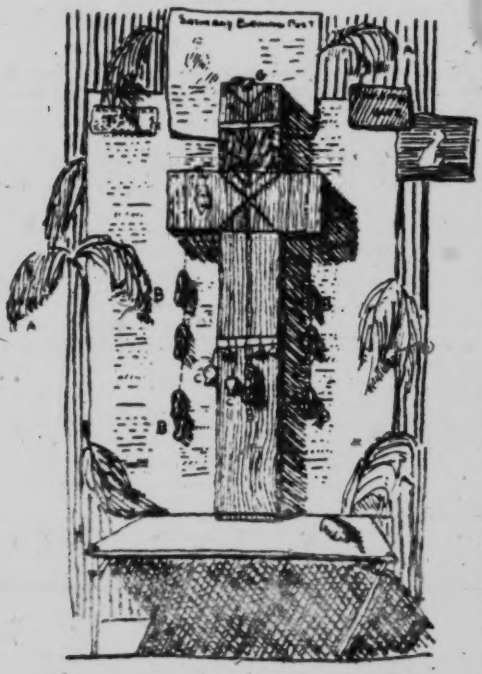

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *oraporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual*, two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual*, a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tzoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual*, which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

424 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his 178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" 796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May.

*Starr, 1908—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323.—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hitc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 324—CANCUC, CHIS. DRINKING GOURD.

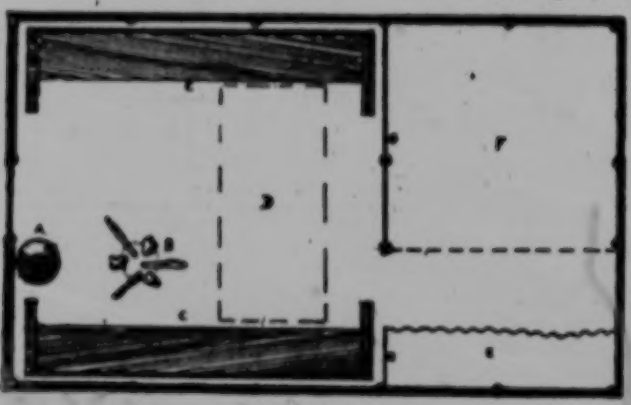

FIG. 325—CANCUC, CHIS. PLAN OF HOUSE.

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

591 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* [198] [432] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In anticipation [196] of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What resale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 • 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* 621 554 [2]The positions of president of education and ejido commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet) in the civil hierarchy.

273* 796 794 554 semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273*
796
794
554

The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273*
621
794
554

In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

[561]

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnentik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u'u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wil* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

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"Good."
They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"
They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.

This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghconalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alferreces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

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vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔilim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stękan snił (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'ahubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests.

Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

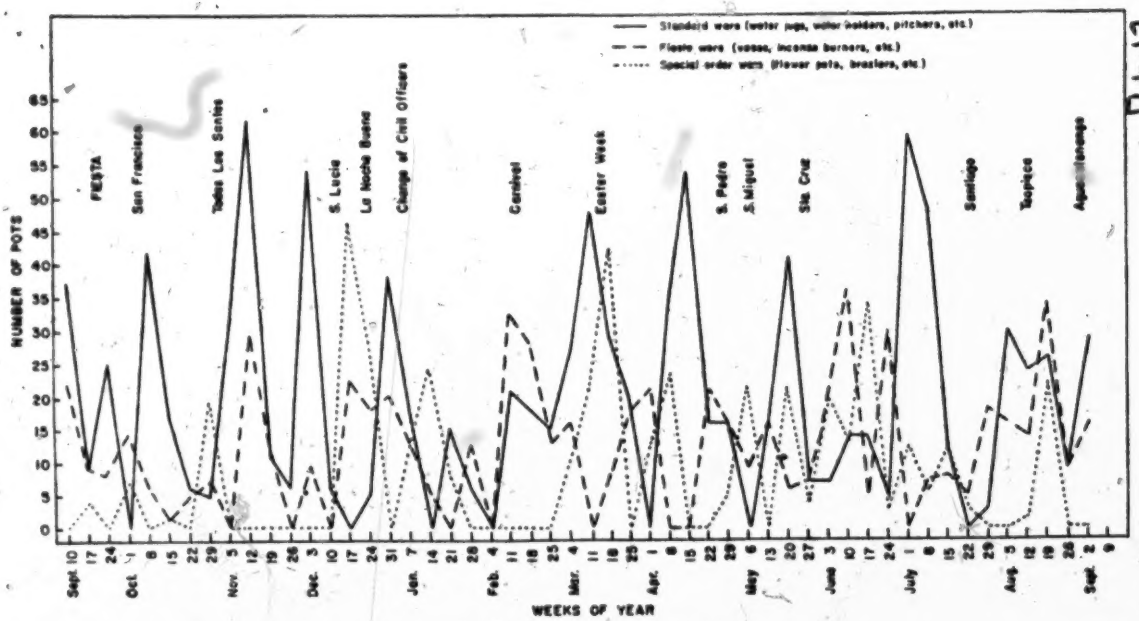
628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



Source: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186-91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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[153] I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [096] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and [415] gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

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231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
• 796 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's
[843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

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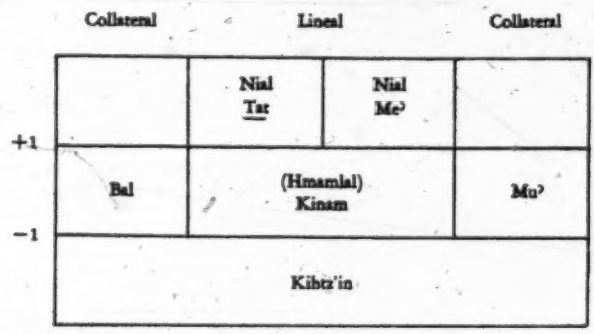
601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives



Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 796 794 174 592 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 197 192 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 179 584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

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sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness. At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by an informant:

When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the present curers could speak to them if they did.

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are responsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older informant.

The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for

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794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

624 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hierarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.
[554]

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825)[3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʔultatik ta ʔulʌan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *ʔultatik ta ʔulna.* The prefix *ʔul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *ʔuleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started.

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought.

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week.

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó.

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boring towns of Ozchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

Table 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Luciá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Gundalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alişiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

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796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and receives the visitors with the pat?o?tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office. [562]

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance. [534]

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

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Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

Learning the pat?o?tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat?o?tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

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might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez.

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himšol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.*

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.*

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.*

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts.

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).*

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the*

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bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

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All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal,* [154] *had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking.

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served.

The fourth day (Slok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

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794 aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of
• 796 officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.

[535] After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the
[788] wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.

[788] In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-

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fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life.

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise.

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
• 796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and*

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the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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796 154 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrassment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cigarettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal restraints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

[273] [276] [522]

541 522 177 178 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas. They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good loo' ing, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 262 794 177 178 [131] Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobraria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers* [*a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals*] *are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matrake, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[198] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed:

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apuštol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two.

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross.

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac-

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate.

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tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege. As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people. Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transaction may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambivalent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day, Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

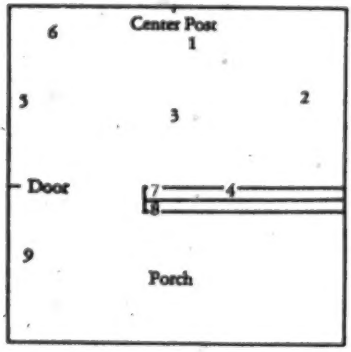
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[96] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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342 352 562 574 796

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

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Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

342 561 554 [574]

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

342 796 [584] [755]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

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party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

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The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church.

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect.

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains.

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles.

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass.

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons.

125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

24 46 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotončʉ with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose.

Economic Activities

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthesizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an insect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The Indians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities. The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial entertainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs, and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is another effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the supernatural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Oxchuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182
•796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

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[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[3] In this approach, the informant-co-

[3] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

[P. 209-B]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

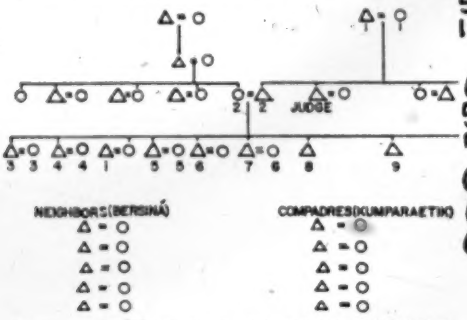

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

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"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pas?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(koniun we?el)*; second day is *wiš'peres*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220A

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[P 221 - A]

"Why don't you cal in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinatioss are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

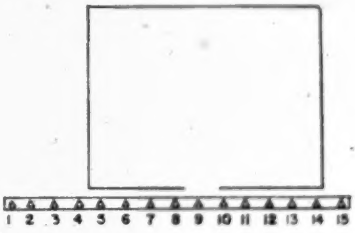

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobrario Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Nil?nal yu?un Sakramento)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Nil?nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpransisko)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantonio)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiago)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sankosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nil?nal yu?un Sanantonio)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nil?nal yu?un Santiago)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nil?nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nil?nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nil?nal yu?un Sankosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nil?nal yu?un Sanpransisko)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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[128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

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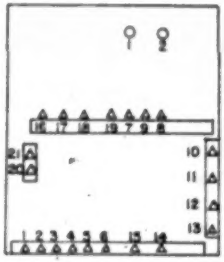

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Stebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobrarıa Sakramentó)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Stebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621 *
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are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

[P. 227 - A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 59). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

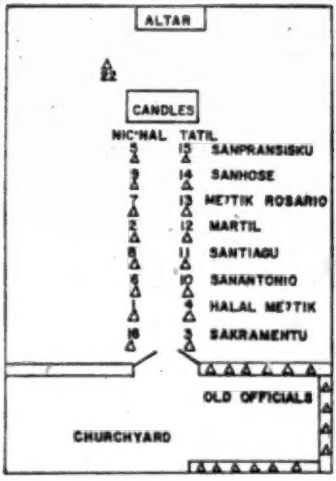

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

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Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aʦ haʔhil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*62 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*62 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stalel nakawome*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak sʔetik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
#62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*pat?ot'an yil smahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
[576]				
#62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanehetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[523] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

[P. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios ank Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kak-walnik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortillas in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
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262
693

(*K'a s'atbal/jul helal*). They said *pat'oʃan* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ihale*) with all often in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kut' ihale* with her.

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[293]

At 11:15 *balmulelak* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe makter me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
			judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe xoltak tuxipal k'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawanc* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *halnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawanc* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawanc* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[23. Omitted.]			
24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *sanik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and *sindico* then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alferezes and the holy staffs are on the *tanik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials (*mamal k'a ha?elenik*) and the two principales (*mamal krianpalenik*) and the four alferezes (*alperesil*). (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tanik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
31. Who passes the staffs (*sbaranik me?nktanik*)?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo virjo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferezes go out with their banners	The alferezes go out in a procesion with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferezes. Flute and drum began as alferezes came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procesion begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procesion look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *naka-wone* redirected them)
	40. What did the alferezes do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procesion go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624] [782] [794]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferezes leave their banners in the church

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiis all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#621 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see (*?u ?il*) in the townhall		
#621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new polise enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the tnwnhall	The polise go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
(539 693)	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Manal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo?t'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president (*manal ?a? presirenti*) and enter, Mr. New judges (*manal ?a? alkaletik*)"		
#621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
293 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle (*ta yolil komun*)		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinsipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol slunebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors *(me?tiktatik)* for the *mamal krinsipalenik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinsipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
#621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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#62 124 796 213 81.	What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ah-k'olnantik
82.	What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*
83.	What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon
84.	What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an?*	He asks if they can endure a little more
85.	What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalenik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"
86.	What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow

Drinking continued until sundown.

APPENDIX 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
796			
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
(533)	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
(824)	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
796			
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?elelik)*	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

19.	Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
20.	Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
21.	What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam ḳoz*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
22.	How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
23.	Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biḳtal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
24.	What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
25.	What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiṗerel	
26.	What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
27.	What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
28.	What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
29.	Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
30.	Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
31.	Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
32.	What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
33.	What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
34.	How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *naḳawanchetik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
35.	How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
36.	What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
37.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eves. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me?el tatel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(me?a ta tat'?a)* mam kobraria	
38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpegro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(čuk ?alel lihkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *balnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
47. What do they say after the *sak'inal*?		The kobraria of *Halal me?etik* gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first *nakawane*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo?t'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me?č'ukasul)* who is the *me?il k'op* in the house

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49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanotak*) do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me?č'ukalailetik*? — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[293] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me?č'ukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yo?tan*
He rises to ask permission before the *me?č'ukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me?tiktatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanehetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me?tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me?el tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me?č'ukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
		did with the hand which has sinned, the foot which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbenik* to the mamal old kobraria
69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
71. How do they take the *karamenta* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
80. Where do they go after the oath?		

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796 124	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
[293]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel*?		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to-hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nič'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu?un ya?be sol yu?un sk'an solin kilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat?ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat?o?tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[293]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor